

REVIEW OF THE RECENT VILLA-CARRANZA BREACH

By CHARLES M. PEPPER.

Events are moving swiftly in Mexico to determine who really is the first chief of the revolution.

The capture of Zacatecas by Villa may deepen rather than close the breach between Carranza and Villa, but no one who has read history doubts that the conqueror by arms prevails over the civilian leader of revolutions. Yet, despite Villa's military successes, a numerous faction among the constitutionalists will not be willing to accept his overlordship. That is why the breach will continue.

There really have been two factions among the Constitutionalists, a civilian and a military one. The military faction, headed by Villa, has needed the moral force of the civilian element, and why Carranza has been allowed to go on with the figment of constitutional government.

From the beginning, the jealousy of Villa by the men surrounding Carranza has been marked. Equally so has been the jealousy of the Carranza leaders manifested by Villa's chiefs. This jealousy is a trait of Mexican character and does not promise well for the future.

When the Constitutionalists obtained control of the states of Sonora and Sinaloa, on the Pacific slope, Carranza's star was in the ascendant. He was there himself, and while he had shown no special talents as a military commander he nevertheless was entitled to credit for the results achieved, and his chieftainship was acknowledged by all the rebel generals. His provisional cabinet was with him and the headquarters of the Constitutional government was at Nogales, Sonora, just across the Arizona line.

Villa, at that time, was operating in Chihuahua, making his headquarters intermittently at Juarez and Chihuahua City while preparing for the Torreon campaign.

The Carranzistas having obtained control of the Pacific slope states, with the exception of the ports of Guaymas and Mazatlan, surprise was expressed that the provisional government did not move across the Sierra Madre and get into closer touch with the states of Northern Mexico. It was privately known that the real cause was the mutual distrust of the Villa and the Carranza factions. Finally, Carranza did move his headquarters to Juarez, and there was harmony on the surface.

The murder of Benton, and the storm of indignation it aroused against Villa was the means of bringing the two leaders together. Villa, probably for the only time in his life, really became frightened, not for his personal safety, but for fear that England would force the United States to intervene and undertake the protection of foreigners in Northern Mexico.

Villa removed his headquarters from Juarez to Chihuahua, and the Carranza government took up the task of relieving him from responsibility for Benton's murder. It is forgotten now, but immediately after the murder a statement was given out from Villa's headquarters at Juarez explaining how Benton had been given a trial by court-martial, and having been found guilty had been executed in accordance with military law. This semi-official version was so exceedingly improbable that it only brought ridicule on Villa's whitewashers.

Then Carranza stepped in and defied both England and the United States, turning back the official representatives of the two countries who were to make an investigation and to examine the body of Benton. He stated that the Constitutional government would make the necessary inquiries. Later, it was unofficially given out that Carranza's subordinates had investigated, and had found that Benton had been ordered to Chihuahua by Villa for trial, but had been taken from the train en route and executed by one Maj. Pardo, who would be punished for his act, but even this statement never was officially made. Pardo was Villa's closest friend.

The British foreign minister, Lord Grey, told parliament that "England does not forget Benton." The United States apparently did forget him, as it forgot Gustave Baugh and other American citizens, who were undoubtedly murdered by Villa's men, for the incident was allowed to drop out of the official mind, and, to some extent, out of the public mind.

The full history of Benton's murder, and the degree to which Villa was responsible for it, some day will be revived, but the point is that by not holding Villa to accountability at the time he was able to go forward with his military movements, and achieve the victories which have added so immensely to his prestige. Villa was very grateful to Carranza for smoothing the incident over, and there were many manifestations of mutual good feeling between him and Carranza. Their respective followers, however, did not become very cordial to one another, and Villa's lieutenants were soon talking of deposing Carranza.

Then came the seizure of Vera Cruz by the American navy, and the landing of Carranza's note to President Wilson, inviting the president of the United States to withdraw them. Villa's generals were most radical in their demand that Carranza take the stand he did. There is not a shadow of a doubt on this point. Villa, however, repudiated the note as soon as he saw how public sentiment in the United States was becoming inflamed by it. At the same time he still pro-

claimed his allegiance to Carranza as first chief.

The explanation made to the Washington administration of the Carranza note was that it was essential in order to placate the rebel troops and to prevent an anti-American outbreak. In other words, it was a piece of politics. This explanation is correct. If Carranza, at the demand of Villa's generals, had not written to President Wilson as he did the whole Constitutional army in northern Mexico would have been in revolt. In 48 hours Villa was able to check the feeling and to blend the mind of his followers to other subjects.

The Carranzistas were bitterly resentful of the censure which was visited on Carranza in the United States, and the praise which was given Villa. The incident really widened the breach between the two factions, yet on the surface they were made to appear more harmonious.

In the latter part of April, before Villa left for the front, a harmony dinner was given General Carranza at Chihuahua. Several foreigners were present by invitation. Villa made a speech in which, after describing himself as only a rude soldier, he praised Carranza and denied that there was any friction between them. Among other things Villa said that they must all be united "against the pretensions of their civilized neighbor." This meant the United States. The foreigners present all noted the significance of the phrase, but it was cut out of the speech as furnished to the newspapers on the border by Villa's press bureau.

The surface harmony between Villa and Carranza did not last long when it came to internal affairs of the revolution. The offices in Chihuahua were held largely by Carranzistas. The Villaistas complained bitterly of this, since Chihuahua was Villa's special territory and had been won by him. They made no secret that they wanted a chance at murdering under official authority. They got it and the way they have been exercising their authority since then would grieve the good people of the United States who think that Villa's followers have been fighting for good government.

Villa one night surrounded the house of Manuel Chao, the governor, and made him a prisoner. Chao was sent to the front with his command, and General Fidelia Avila, the military commandant at Juarez, was named for governor, but did not take office immediately. Chao returned from the front with his staff and issued a proclamation telling the people of Chihuahua that there was nothing in the stories of the disagreement between him and Villa, but that he was laying down the cares of the governor's office in order that he might best serve the people in military capacity. There is little question that Villa

uncovered a plot against himself and was convinced that Gov. Chao was in it, for he was in a violent rage when Chao was made prisoner by his orders, and would have executed the governor but for Carranza's intercession. There were at least four executions later.

I was in Chihuahua early in May, soon after these executions, and heard some of the particulars, though they were not even whispered. One was of a captain, and there was reason to believe that a colonel also was executed, along with two subordinate officers. An anti-American plot was said to exist, and the few Americans who remained in Chihuahua were being guarded without their knowing it. The plot was really against Villa, but the killing of a few Americans which seemed to be assumed, would be one means of popularizing it and also of discrediting Villa in the United States.

Villa has his own secret police, whose members are not known to one another. By this means he keeps informed of what his enemies are doing or are planning to do. His secret police were probably the sources of information which caused him to send a number of officers to the front with their troops who it had been supposed would be left behind for ordinary military duties.

The wide divergence in policies between Villa and Carranza became apparent when Carranza moved his movable government temporarily to Durango, while Villa was in personal command of the troops which were advancing against Saltillo. Carranza was undertaking to dictate the military policy while Villa was also ostensibly adhering to a policy of his own in regard to confiscation and other questions which the Carranza cabinet maintained were purely questions of civil government. Villa, however, was still acknowledging Carranza as first chief. I was at Durango when the first news of the cutting of pieces of a retreating federal garrison at Paredon was received. It came in the form of a telegram from Villa to Carranza, and gave the facts about a subordinate general would report to a commander-in-chief.

Carranza showed his lack of military intuition, as well as bad judgment, in undertaking to direct the Zacatecas campaign without regard to Villa. He created a central division of the army, and made Gen. Panfilo Natera the general in command of it. It clearly was his intention that the central army should take Zacatecas.

Gen. Natera was a splendid young officer, who had done good work in driving the federals out of various parts of the state of Zacatecas, but he had never commanded an army attacking a fortified position. He and his officers, however, were supremely confident that the capture of the city either would capitulate or would ev-

acuate the city. Gen. Triana, who was killed in the repulse which Natera's troops suffered, told me at Durango that they would have had fighting, but other officers did not seem to share his opinion.

None of Villa's friends, or even those who knew him, but were not his friends, supposed for a moment that he would fail to resent Carranza's action in seeking to eliminate him from the Zacatecas campaign. They also felt sure that when the city was taken it would be taken by Villa. In the meantime they waited developments.

The developments came swiftly enough, yet they were the outcome of Villa's matured plans. He moved with characteristic caution, but when he was ready he acted with his usual swiftness. The coup by which the Carranza officials and the clerical force at Juarez were seized was like one of his military movements.

Villa is likely to have had two purposes in the course he took.

One was the very practical object of putting his own people in possession of the offices of every kind. His earlier action in turning out the Carranza officials in the state of Chihuahua had related very largely to state positions. His displacing even the clerks and telegraph operators at Juarez meant that he proposed to have under his own charge all the offices and clerical forces of the constitutional government, including the customs. The customs collections are sources of profit.

The seizure of the Carranza constitutionalist currency, said to have amounted to \$1,000,000, was another evidence of his practical turn of mind. This fiat money, whether it is the so-called Villa currency of the state of Chihuahua or the constitutionalist currency of the Carranza government, circulates all through northern Mexico. The troops are paid in it, and ordinary business transactions are based on it. With the funds all in control of Villa his power is immensely increased.

Villa's second purpose, or perhaps in his mind his first, was to let the world know that he, and not Carranza, is the real head of the revolution. There has been less doubt about this in Europe and the United States than in Chihuahua. Carranza has known. But by his action he serves notice of what he expects.

Villa in the beginning had the advantage of controlling the sources of news, and his press bureau was able to put his coup before the world in its most favorable light. He still has this advantage to a large degree, and it is even more marked in his ability to suppress news of what actually takes place, especially in Chihuahua. It is unlikely that any of the Carranza officials or clerks whom he seized have been executed, for that would be inexpedient. But that the faction opposed

to him has been terrorized is certain, and it is also certain that many of the persons who were made prisoners will be held under military espionage as hostages for the good behavior of their friends.

A doubting world is not likely to pay much attention to the explanations put forward by the Carranzistas and the Constitutionalists who know the importance of maintaining an appearance of unity as a means of getting the United States to back them up in getting control of all Mexico. The real significance of Villa's move is that it shows that irreconcilable differences exist, the settlement of which could not be postponed.

How far Villa will now go toward putting Gen. Felipe Angeles forward as his man for provisional president will depend on circumstances. Gen. Carranza, in his effort to maintain his claim as the titular head of the revolution, cannot be blamed for displacing General Angeles as secretary of war.

All the other men in Carranza's provisional cabinet are loyal to him, and some of them are not afraid of Villa. These men, however, are civilians and have no troops at their command. Gen. Carranza himself has a small body of honor troops on which it is thought he can depend, but they are as nothing compared with the army Villa commands.

The financial interests of the United States which have backed the revolution and put up the money for it are certain to be pleased with Villa's ascendancy. Most of them heretofore, it is generally assumed, have dealt directly with Villa in supplying the money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. It was one of Villa's grievances that Carranza was going to prevent him from receiving the ammunition discharged at Tampico, though it had been bought by his money. Most of the purchases in the United States have been for the direct account of Villa. At the same time, financial transactions have been necessary with the recognized agents of Carranza. If the future should disclose that loans have been floated they would likely appear as loans to Carranza, because up to this time Villa has only claimed to be a commander of troops.

The subsidence of Carranza and the ascendancy of Villa undoubtedly will help solve some of the perplexing problems of the Washington administration. On the face of affairs, having supported the Villa-Carranza faction as against the Huerta faction, a question would seem to arise when it comes to determining which fraction of a faction to recognize. But the United States, or the Washington administration, all along has recognized Villa as the dominating force in the revolution.

Dealing with him has been much more satisfactory than trying to deal with Carranza. When no satisfaction could be had from Carranza, an appeal to Villa generally brought results.

Carranza has been not only obstinate and crochety, but has maintained a principle of action which has been extremely inconvenient to Washington. This principle was that the United States was dealing with a genuine constitutional government, and must deal on the basis of international relations. Villa, on the contrary, has not concerned himself with theories of fiction of this kind. He has felt the necessity of conciliating public opinion in the United States, and of cultivating the good will of the American people. That he has no real friendship for the United States, or for the American people, does not affect the main question, which is to find some one in authority in the part of Mexico controlled by the constitutionalists with whom the United States can deal.

How far Villa has pledged himself to acquiesce in the plan of having the Mexican factions settle their differences outside of the mediation conference is likely to be disclosed soon. This disclosure may also determine whether there is any possibility of Villa and Carranza maintaining the fiction that there are only small differences between them to be adjusted.

Foreigners, who are concerned chiefly with the protection of life and property and who hope to save the remnants of their investments in Mexico, doubtless will look with favor on the complete control of the country by Villa. They know it will be military control, and from my observation they are sincere in their belief that an army autocracy is the only possible future for Mexico. Foreign investors and capitalists are not much concerned, anyhow, about the progress of popular government in Spanish-American countries.

Sentimental persons, and those who hoped that at least a beginning might be made in a genuine movement for popular government, will view with regret, if not with dismay, the domination of Villa and the military faction. With all of Carranza's faults, and the faults of those with whom he is surrounded, it must be said that these men represent the aspirations for civil government as opposed to a military oligarchy. What little of encouragement the revolution has given to the spread of democratic institutions in Mexico is due to them. If they are submerged by the army, as now seems likely, the germ of democratic institutions is also submerged. The only comforting result to be seen from the success of the revolution is that the land question, which is an economic question, has been put in a way to be settled.

It is "the twilight of Kipling," sadly notes the London Daily Chronicle, and it quotes Mr. J. M. Robertson, Parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade, as saying that Mr. Kipling presents "one of the most repulsive spectacles in history—the spectacle of real literary power and gifts applied to the mere stimulus and impulse of maligning a large mass of people." Further:

"That has been the ministry of Mr. Kipling ever since he started writing. The note of hatred was sounded in his earliest writings. He began by hating Mr. Gladstone, then Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and now Mr. Asquith.

"Mr. Kipling has shown that advancing years have left him more a vessel of wrath than he has ever been. At this critical period Mr. Kipling can bring no counsel and no better ingredients to the trouble than a double dose of that original sin of his—hatred and malice to all men with whom he did not see eye to eye.

"Mr. Kipling is to me a standing warning of the danger of treating the instinct of patriotism as if it were an all-sufficing virtue. What is it that makes patriotism a civilizing power? It is sympathy for one's fellows, and not hatred of other people. Mr. Kipling's patriotism has always been a matter of hatred for one particular mass of people, and in virtue of that hatred he regards himself as the champion of patriotism."

RUDYARD KIPLING ATTACKS GOVERNMENT; ANTICIPATES RACE FOR PARLIAMENT

(Associated Press.)

LONDON, July 21.—While it seems settled that Rudyard Kipling will be a candidate for member of Parliament at the next general election, the Unionist party has not yet found a seat for him. After his recent attack on the Liberal government's policy, a speech which caused no end of comment in England, the Borderley division of Birmingham, from which the Right Honorable Jesse Collins is retiring, offered him the Liberal-Unionist candidacy, but he declined on the ground that he was being put forward by one section of the party which desired to force its candidacy on the other section. For in Birmingham, the Unionists and Conservatives, who worked together under the leadership of the late Joseph Chamberlain, have now renewed their jealousies. Each section is trying to get a candidate in full sympathy with its views to succeed Mr. Collins. A similar situation was avoided in the west division of Birmingham, which Mr. Chamberlain represented for so many years, only by the fact that his son, Austen Chamberlain, recently came forward as a candidate.

For Mr. Kipling a constituency is being sought which will not be too exacting, and which will not require what the English call "nursing."

Mr. Kipling has lately led some of his countrymen to ask whether the literary mind lacks poise, or whether politics makes too strong a potation for it. He recently made a speech at Tunbridge Wells on the Unionist side of the Irish question, and even the Unionist papers of London find it prudent not to notice his apparently unwelcome support. We find a New York paper characterizing it as "wild blather" that is "without an equal, even in the present explosive days

of English politics." To point his argument, Mr. Kipling takes a leaf out of his Indian experience. He quotes a young murderer who once said to him from his cell which Mr. Kipling visited as a newspaper reporter: "Take it from me that, when a chap starts crooked, one thing leads to another till he finds himself in such a position that he has to put somebody out of the way to get straight again." This is the crime that he now charges to the British cabinet, finding Mr. Asquith and his fellows guilty of most of the crimes on the statute-books. As the Manchester Guardian reports Mr. Kipling, he declared that while the meanest sneak-thief will take chances against society, the House of Commons takes none. The Parliament Act prevents the possibility of any interference on the part of electors from outside, and the payment of members prevents the possibility of any revolt on the part of members inside the House. Mr. Kipling declares that the Liberal majority was not big enough to make them independent of the Irish Nationalist vote.

"If that vote was not bought, the Cabinet would lose their salaries as well as the chance of supplementing those salaries, and the private members would lose a very comfortable income. So the Irish Nationalist vote was bought by means of the Home Rule Bill." Mr. Kipling begins with his bitter fling at the Irish, and goes on with an assault on the government that is almost unparalleled in British politics. These are his words:

"I do not for one instant blame the Nationalists. They are what they are. They are what their type of race has always been since the beginning of recorded history. They have done nothing, and so far as in them lay, they have suffered nothing to be done,

for the peace or the material advancement of their land. They have imposed their own ancient form of tribal administration on large tracts of Ireland, a despotism of secret societies, a government of denunciation by day and of terrorism by night.

"To do them justice they have never faltered in their hate for England. They have preached it and practiced it by every means in their power; they have prayed for the success of England's enemies in every quarter of the world; they have assisted those enemies with men and with arms; they have jeered at England's defeat; they have defouled the honor of England's army, and they have mocked at England's dead.

"It was to these men, with their record of crime and hatred, that the Cabinet prepared to hand over a portion of our United Kingdom for no other reason than that they might continue in the enjoyment of their office. They knew with what devotion, with what self-sacrifice, Ulster had set her house in order to avert this crime. The Cabinet found themselves in such a position that they had to put some one out of the way to get straight again. So they proposed to put Ulster out of the way. With this object they secretly prepared the largest combined expedition of both arms that has been launched since the Crimea, a force of horse, foot, field-guns, howitzers, destroyers, battleships and cruisers. If these Ulster cattle could not be sold or the hoof they should be delivered as carcasses.

"Then they made a slip. It takes nerve to organize cattle-killing on a big scale. They gave the officers told off for the business their choice. They could choose whether they would first bring on a collision with, and then loose death and destruction on,



Rudyard Kipling, uncrowned poet laureate of Great Britain, who is expected to run for parliament.

the one prosperous, the one loyal, the one law-abiding province of Ireland, or whether they would face the ruin of their careers as officers of the king.

"By their choice, to their eternal

honor and glory be it recorded, the army saved the empire. What has happened since? The Cabinet and the members of the House of Commons have drawn eight weeks' more salary. If the Cabinet do not go forward with the Home Rule bill they will cease to draw any salary. Therefore, they must go forward with the Home Rule bill.

"Do not be under any delusion. If the Cabinet think that murder will serve their turn again they will attempt that murder again, and they will go farther. In the light of their record of two months ago, we are justified in believing that if by any lie, by any falsification of fact, speech, document, or telegram, by any bribe of money, or title, or promotion, by subornation of evidence or prearranged provocation—if by these things the blame of causing bloodshed can be thrown upon Ulster, the Cabinet will openly or secretly lend itself to that work. Civil war is inevitable unless our rulers can be brought to realize that even now they must refer these grave matters to the judgment of a free people. If they do not all the history of our land shows there is but one end for us—destruction from within or destruction from without."

The London Daily Mail thinks it Mr. Kipling were a politician his Tunbridge Wells speech would not be calculated "to raise the tone of public discussion." It is likened to the tone of the public schoolboy who divides mankind into two classes, "Our fellows" and "the cads." The Westminster Gazette says:

"No one believes that the government and its supporters acted from the motives that Mr. Kipling attributes to them, and to talk in this strain is not to hurt the government,

but to produce the impression that its opponents are in a state of mind which disqualifies them from thinking and acting as responsible statesmen. The Tunbridge Wells orator has only to glance round at the Unionist papers this morning to see the uncomfortable condition in which he has left them and their extreme desire not to be thought obsessed with his ideas. Large allowances, it is hinted, must be made for literary men.

"None the less, we hope this oration will receive the attention it deserves as a psychological document. For in very striking manner it presents us with an example of everything that the most hardened partizan would wish to avoid at the present moment. It speaks of the Irish in a manner which, if it were at all typical of the English state of mind, would abundantly explain why a self-respecting Irishman must wish to have Home Rule; it speaks of Englishmen befriending the Irish cause as if they were necessarily knaves and traitors; it imputes the vilest of motives to every one who disagrees with the speaker; it glorifies strife and pours contempt on peace-makers. At the same time, it is utterly barren of any practical counsel and wisdom, and leads straight to an impasse, for if the Irish are what Mr. Kipling believes them to be, then the only way would be a new Cromwellian settlement which, this time, would leave none of the native Irish behind it. If this rhetoric means anything, the Unionist policy of local government and land purchase for Ireland is every bit as silly and futile as the Liberal policy of Home Rule, for you do not pledge your credit for the benefit of the kind of people Mr. Kipling thinks the Irish to be or attempt to kill their objections to your

rule by kindness. We rather think that when the average well-disposed Unionist has finished reading this tirade he will begin to think it is time we made an end of this kind of politics and pulled ourselves together for a fresh start in Ireland and Great Britain."

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON CHANGES FRONT AND CONSULTS WITH BUSINESSMEN

(Since the following dispatch was sent out by the Associated Press, President Wilson has also interviewed Mr. Ford relative to the present business conditions of the country, Mr. Ford maintaining that "business was bully.")

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Wilson has a long and pleasant interview with J. P. Morgan of New York. The conference is understood to be the beginning of a new policy at the White House in the reception of prominent men identified with "big business" throughout the country.

Mr. Morgan, who arrived at and departed from the White House in a taxicab, was smiling broadly when he faced a large number of newspaper reporters as he emerged from the president's office.

"Not a word," he said in answer to many questions. "You'll have to see the president. I believe you see him this afternoon anyhow," referring to the newspaper men's usual Thursday afternoon conference with the chief executive.

"Yes, I had a most cordial visit," Mr. Morgan admitted, in response to a final question as he entered the taxicab, with the statement that he expected to return to New York this afternoon.

The call was evidently a satisfactory one, judging from Mr. Morgan's manner.

Henry Ford Coming. This visit is to be followed by a visit next week by Henry Ford, the millionaire automobile manufacturer, and hereafter when the president has time and requests are received from the heads of big enterprises he will be accessible to the right sort of men.

In the case of Mr. Morgan, he sought the interview with the president, but in the case of Mr. Ford the president himself found pleasure in inviting the automobile manufacturer to visit him and have luncheon with him.

Mr. Ford recently gave an interview to the press of the country giving explanations of the business depression in which he declared the tariff was

in no way responsible and to some extent agreed with President Wilson that if business men would cease moping and seeing ghosts in the dark there would be a prompt revival of business. The president, too, has long been an admirer of men of the business stamp of Mr. Ford with human feelings and advanced ideas toward their employees.

On somewhat different lines the president is to see a big delegation of the principals of the largest Chicago business houses next Wednesday. These men constitute a committee from the Chicago Association of Commerce, and they have frankly asked that they be allowed to talk with the president about phases of trust legislation upon which many of the coming visitors are experts.

In the delegation will be the heads of the great houses of Fawell & Co., Marshall Field & Co., Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., Sprague, Warner & Co., J. Y. Ryerson & Sons, Cudahy Packing Company and Reid, Murdoch & Co. Joseph H. Defrees, president of the

Chicago Association of Commerce, requested the appointment and it was made. It was evident, from all indications that the business men of the country have turned away from the attempt to stop trust legislation and will now try to point out to the president certain changes that should be made.

The president, it is said, is glad to find business in this spirit and is willing to meet it half way, although there is practically no chance that material changes will be made in the trust program that has been decided on.

Few Big Business Men Seen. Mr. Morgan is the first of the potentates of big business to see the president in a long time. In fact few men of his stamp have been received at the White House in the sixteen months Mr. Wilson has been there.

James Speyer of the New York banking house, James J. Hill, the veteran railroad man of the northwest, and Andrew Carnegie are about the only ones that are recalled as having re-

ceived admission to the executive offices. Except in the case of Mr. Speyer the visits of the two others were somewhat personal.

There has been severe criticism of the president for inaccessibility to men of large affairs in the country. The criticism has likewise applied to the men in other walks of life. Hundreds of the nation's big men have either directly or indirectly sought to have interviews with the president or expressed to friends a desire to get in touch with him, but the time of the president has nearly always been occupied, and he was unable to make many engagements. Men who sincerely have the welfare of the president at heart have keenly felt the unwisdom of this course, but have been unable to make a change in the program of the White House.

Position of President. It has been explained by those close to the White House, however, that the president's motives in declining to make dates, in addition to lack of time for these appointments, have

been high and thoroughly understood by his intimate friends. So long as the president was working upon a definite legislative program he did not care to be put in the position of having this program influenced in the slightest degree by representations from men of big business. These representations were welcomed by letter, the same as the representations of the man in the humblest walk of life. Holding aloof from the huge powers of the business world, the president has been able to go forward with his extensive legislative program for sixteen months without the intimidation from his enemies of being influenced in his work.

Although keeping in touch, through the newspapers and intimate personal friends, with their views of legislation, these views were not presented through interviews solicited from the White House, and there is now no one who can charge that the source of a single legislative inspiration has been from Wall Street or big business centers.

Having completed his legislative program, or reached the point where he can see this completion, the president feels free to join with men of big and little business in an interchange of thought and information as to what is going on in the world at large.

He has promised business a "constitution of freedom" from further legislative worry after his anti-trust bills become law, and it is the purpose of the president to give every help he can to boost business to a high state of prosperity.

Business to Get Rest. It is practically settled by the administration that while big business will have to conform to the new trust laws, no branch of the administration will be permitted to harrass business or attack it for mere political reasons. Business is to get the rest it has so long craved and sought for, and the president will put himself at the head of the movement to restore business to interrupted prosperity along the avenues the government holds to be legal.